

URBAN ADAPTATION AMONG PERUVIAN MIGRANTS

by Susan Bloom Lobo

INTRODUCTION

This paper is primarily an ethnographic analysis of contrasting examples of the process of house construction in two separate districts in the metropolitan Lima, Peru, area. The emphasis will be on the plans made by migrant family households in their attempts to attain their goals of home ownership. From the standpoint of the migrant families discussed, there is not one pattern for solving the problems associated with their urban adaptation, but rather there exists a pervasive overall strategy, which entails keeping open as many options as possible. Under consideration here are the normative and culturally sanctioned patterns of decision-making that are contingent on three aspects of analysis: (1) values, (2) kin structure, and (3) alliance formation.

Research for this study was carried out in 1964-65, 1969, and 1974, in numerous squatter settlements in the metropolitan Lima-Callao area of Peru. On all three occasions, I resided in the same squatter settlement, which will be referred to here as Corongo. Additionally, I maintained contact with numerous household units throughout the ten-year period. Thus I will discuss the research from the perspective of a long-term participant observer.

THE SETTING

Corongo occupies approximately twenty acres and contains an estimated population of 12,000 individuals, indicating an extremely high population density. Since the late 1940s, Corongo has grown by increments, in contrast to those squatter settlements in the Lima metropolitan area described by Mangin (1967) and Turner (1967) that were populated rapidly through organized invasions of vacant land. In Corongo, houses are generally constructed of reed mats (*esteras*), scrap

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lumber, or adobe, and commonly are contiguous to one another. In addition to three narrow roads, a labyrinth of narrow pathways winds throughout the settlement. Certain areas are considered public thoroughfares, where the community buildings and facilities are located. Other areas, within which reside clusters of *paisanos*¹ and kin, are more private in nature. Corongo has open sewers and communal outdoor water spigots. Numerous housefront stores and artisan shops supply most of the daily needs of the residents of the area. Community facilities include an open-air market, two elementary schools, a medical post, and a meeting hall.

Approximately two-thirds of those residing in Corongo (including those who will be discussed in this paper) are migrants of primarily Indian ancestry who have come to the metropolitan Lima area from the Andean highlands and who are in the process of adapting to urban conditions. Many are bilingual speakers of Spanish and Quechua. The approximately one-third of the residents who are natives of Lima, and who will not be included in the present discussion, are primarily coastal, urban individuals, many of whom are of black ancestry.²

In regard to age range and household composition, data similar to those reported for squatter settlements in general by the Oficina Nacional de Estadística y Censos (1972) are also found within Corongo. Thus households are comprised primarily of nuclear families with a substantial number of long-term "visiting" kin, and contain an average of somewhat more than six individuals. Most households are headed by couples in their mid-twenties to late thirties, and in 1974 there were very few individuals present who were beyond the age of fifty-five.

In 1973 the Peruvian government began a process of urban renewal in one sector of Corongo. One of the options available to those households that were compelled to vacate the area was that of re-establishing themselves on uniform-sized lots in an incipient "self-help housing development" where they were expected eventually to construct their new homes. This development is known as Dulanto. In April 1973, when 380 households from Corongo moved the two miles to Dulanto, the area contained 1,694 surveyed and marked lots of uniform size, arranged in blocks of twenty-two lots. The space for numerous plazas, a meeting hall, a sports field, an open-air market, and an elementary school were included in the plan. At the time that individuals from Corongo moved to Dulanto, work had begun on providing water directly to each lot, and eighteen months later most households were receiving water at least four hours daily. As arranged prior to the relocation, each household that chose to move to Dulanto paid a small down payment, and then monthly payments for a period of five years, in order to obtain title to a lot. City planners provided the new residents with some technical assistance and

with four house plans from which they could choose.

Because of the multiple constraints that the migrants must face, primarily insecurity of land title and scarcity of funds for materials and labor, house construction often takes years of sustained labor and a carefully laid out plan of action. The long-term process of house construction, through which many migrant individuals and often entire squatter settlements proceed, has been discussed in some detail by Delgado (1968) and Turner (1967) among others. Previous to the relocation effort of residents from Corongo, the squatter settlement formation process in Corongo was carried out for the most part at the pace and in the direction initiated by the migrants themselves. As will be discussed here, the residents of Corongo who relocated in Dulanto were subjected to many external pressures to shift to a settlement pattern and to a form of social interaction that contrasted in many features with those found in squatter settlements such as Corongo.

CASE STUDIES

In Corongo as it was originally settled, there is a recurrent residence pattern of *paisano* clusters, and within these, sibling-based kin clusters. Households consist primarily of nuclear families of procreation and commonly additional long-term visiting kin. The residence pattern provides daily support and mutual aid among the migrant families.

The clustering of *paisanos* from the environs of Huirahuacho in Apurimac is typical in a number of features of *paisano* clusters. Once the logic of organization within such a grouping becomes evident, one finds a marked contrast with the "chaotic" (Berckholtz, 1963) nature of squatter settlements so often implied or assumed in the literature. The Huirahuacho *paisano* cluster in Corongo includes eighty-four households and approximately five hundred forty individuals. In the center of the cluster, there is an open space measuring approximately thirty by forty feet. Here is located a spigot where most of the households living in the cluster obtain their water, and near which clothes are washed. The spigot is the focal point of much daytime activity. The open space is also often used as a semi-secluded area in which children play and adults sit and talk; secular and religious activities and *fiestas* often take place here. In many respects, open areas within a *paisano* cluster serve functions similar to those of the traditional central *plaza* in many highland villages and small towns (see Isbell, 1974). As is common in many of the *paisano* clusters, the houses within the Huirahuacho cluster face inward toward the open area, creating a somewhat insular pattern, due to the narrow, often meandering, passageways that lead into or through the area. The arrangement of passageways discourages intrusion into the area by those

who do not live there or have immediate business there. Within this cluster there are also located four small house-front stores, one small restaurant that also sells beer, a shoe repair shop, a tailor shop, and a variable number of pushcarts from which prepared food is sold.

In contrast, the settlement pattern in Dulanto follows the typically urban block arrangement found throughout much of Lima and in some squatter settlements, particularly those which were formed through large scale, well-organized invasions. This arrangement of uniform blocks separated by straight streets causes a breakup of the traditional *paisano* residential cluster.

Furthermore, the manner of relocation of residents from Corongo to Dulanto resulted in dispersion of households that for many years had lived near one another and collaborated in many ways. For example, from a residential clustering within Corongo of sixty-seven migrant households with highland origins in Ancash, sixteen households relocated in Dulanto. Although kin and *paisanos* expend a great deal of effort on maintaining close contact, the distance between the two districts provides a barrier to the direct and immediate communication that was present in Corongo before the relocation. The lottery system that determined lot assignment in Dulanto further dispersed kin and *paisanos*.

The government agency responsible for the relocation in Dulanto assigned each block an identifying letter and indicated to its new residents that they were expected to organize as a unit by electing three delegates to attend bi-weekly community meetings. In many other respects, the block was designated as the official unit of organization. Identification and organization by block, for residents of lots that are back to back, who are rarely *paisanos* or kin, is in direct contrast to the traditional inward-looking pattern of *paisano* clusters that is found in Corongo.

CORONGO

Because the migrants' legal ownership of their lots within Corongo has always been disputed, the construction materials used there are less durable than those utilized in Dulanto, where there is some security of land ownership. Thus in Corongo the expense of house construction has been minimal and construction itself rapid. Residents of Corongo have built up large repertoires of reciprocal exchanges with kin and *paisanos*, which are easily activated for help in house construction.

In Corongo, most houses grow by increments as the family members acquire funds to buy building materials or are able to salvage them, and as space for construction becomes available. In most phases of house construction both men and women may be active, although the labor of

men predominates. Because almost all buildings are contiguous, shared walls lessen the burden of construction for some families.

For example: Celsa and Jorge and their three-year-old son had lived in Corongo in the home of Jorge's sister since migrating to Lima two years previously. Although they had saved only a small amount of cash since their arrival, Celsa and Jorge nevertheless could expect help from a large network of kin and *paisanos* who lived in their residential cluster. Jorge's sister was particularly eager to help her brother construct his own house. One night, with the help of the sister, the sister's husband, and Jorge's brother, the couple placed *esteras* at both ends of a twelve foot wide passageway between two houses, thus creating the end walls of a twelve by fifteen foot house. Although by this date (1969) it was against the general policy established by the elected community council for new houses to be constructed in the already reduced open areas of Corongo, most of the neighbors were well aware of what had occurred and were sympathetic to Celsa and Jorge's plan. More importantly, their kin and *paisano* group, which represented a fairly large and united force within the sector in which their new house was located, was prepared to support their action. As one *paisano*, Domitilda, said, "We don't really need that little passageway. And besides they should at least have a house of their own."

The day after the construction of the end walls, an official from the community council visited Celsa and Jorge in their new house. The kin who had helped them the night before were present, as was Celsa's aunt, who also had a house nearby. Before the community official entered their house, the aunt tried to dissuade him, saying that it was not a house at all, but just a "chicken coop" that she and her husband were building. Although both the aunt and the official were well aware of the true nature of the construction, the aunt's argument was a symbolic gesture of kin support and solidarity for Celsa and Jorge. The problem was resolved when the young couple paid the official for a permit to build. Following the official's visit, Celsa and Jorge moved their bed, a bench, a table, her cooking equipment, and their clothing into their house. His siblings and her aunt then gave them some scrap lumber and bricks to replace the *esteras*.

By evening, their house presented a façade not unlike those of their immediate neighbors. The *esteras* were placed on the roof until the following weekend, when Jorge purchased enough lumber to finish half of the roof. The floor was left sod, as is done in many houses. Their house, while modest by squatter settlement standards, provided adequate space for the family to sleep and to prepare and eat their food. Two months after the house was constructed, Celsa's younger sister, the sister's husband, and their four small children moved to Lima from their

home community in the highlands and joined Celsa and Jorge in their house for eight months, until they were able to construct their own. When they joined Celsa and Jorge, the sister bought five *esteras*, and her husband constructed a sleeping room for his family on the roof, which they reached by a wooden ladder through an open hatch. All nine members of the newly formed household shared cooking and eating facilities. Cages for chickens were then built on the portion of the roof not covered by the sleeping room. Small shelters for guinea pigs were also placed around the walls of the kitchen area. This example illustrates a process of expansion typical of many houses in Corongo.

That Celsa and Jorge made the first step of their house construction and therefore laid claim to the property at night is significant. If an individual is able to construct a house at night without detection, by the following morning when the construction is discovered, his squatter's rights are almost equal to those of the other "possessors" of lots in Corongo. A united group of *paisanos* and kin is also helpful in forestalling immediate detection of new construction by the community officials. In Corongo, the community council has no clear and consistent sanctioning power, but only the power given to it through the consent of the residents. An individual undertaking new construction will usually manage to build the new house if he or she has numerous kin residing in the same sector of the squatter settlement, who will exert enough influence to prevent any neighbor's complaint to the community council. The community council, through the possibility of community-wide censure, does exert enough pressure to induce caution on the part of potential builders and often to slow house construction. By 1969, however, the virtual absence of unused ground space dictated that any desired expansion be upward to second stories.

The house of Trujillo, Lucia, and their three children provides another example of the gradual construction, improvement, and expansion of houses in Corongo. Two of Lucia's teenaged brothers, who were on an extended visit to the city in order to earn some cash, also lived with them in their house, which was made of scrap lumber. Trujillo gained access to numerous multi-shaped, but extremely strong, railroad ties through his work at the railroad yard in Callao. Trujillo and Lucia's two brothers used a truck belonging to the company for which their uncle worked to bring the ties to Corongo, and in the evenings and on weekends over a number of weeks, placed the ties on the floor of their house and used them as sturdy replacements for external walls. When they moved to Dulanto in 1973, they transported the railroad ties there and utilized them in the construction of their temporary shelter and later in their permanent house.

Florinda and Julio salvaged their building materials after a strong

earthquake caused considerable damage throughout Lima. Julio retrieved a number of loads of bricks in the family's *tri-cycle* (a three-wheeled bicycle with a platform in the front) from a partially destroyed factory near his place of employment on the Avenida Argentina. Then he, his wife, and six children worked to remove the remaining mortar from the bricks; they and Julio's two brothers built a brick wall without mortar along three sides of their house. When they obtained a lot in Dulanto in 1973, the bricks provided the beginning of their house construction there.

A group of five well organized siblings and their spouses constructed a house in another manner common in Corongo (two of the siblings' spouses were first cousins of the houseowner's wife, Fernandina). Efrain and Fernandina decided to remodel their poorly constructed one-story house built of scrap lumber and *esteras*. Additional lumber was obtained through the kin network. All five of the siblings and their spouses and some of the children of these couples began to work early Sunday morning, tearing the old structure to the ground, removing the nails from the old boards and then reconstructing a sturdy two-room wooden house by late afternoon. By evening, the major portion of the interior was completed, as was a second-story sleeping room. The furniture was returned to the newly-built house that same night.

During the day, the householders provided beer for those who helped in the construction. Fernandina also prepared an elaborate mid-day meal for them, with the help of her sister. In the evening the house was baptized with the breaking of a bottle of champagne by the *madrina* (god-mother) of the new house, who was Fernandina's sister. A relatively modest party followed, in which another meal and beer were served to those who had participated in the construction, followed by dancing to recorded music. The following weekend, Efrain and Fernandina painted the interior. As is traditional, the mental tally of give and take was carefully maintained by each individual who participated in this particular construction effort. Reciprocity of materials and labor was expected when the necessity arose.

This last example of house remodeling is somewhat similar to the descriptions (such as Mayer, 1972) of mutual aid in house construction as found in the Andean highlands. In this case, however, as the house was easily disassembled and rebuilt, the actual construction time was reduced and the project was completed in one day of concentrated effort.

DULANTO

In Dulanto the likelihood of legally owning lots is a major factor influencing the construction of permanent dwellings. In contrast to the rapid construction of houses found in Corongo, house construction in

Dulanto is extended over a long period of time and represents a major investment in resources. Additionally, in Dulanto there are two other factors that provide a major contrast with Corongo: dispersion of kin and *paisanos* and the governmental pressure to organize officially by block. The effects of these considerations become evident in the example discussed below.

Various methods exist for residents of Dulanto to obtain materials and to mobilize labor for house construction. The most common strategies include one or a combination of the following: a loan from an employer, credit cooperatives among residents, reciprocal labor exchange among kin and *paisanos*, and block associations for labor exchange. An example of the last of these types will be discussed here because it presents the clearest contrast in many respects to the traditional reciprocal exchange among kin and *paisanos* that is so common in Corongo, and also because block organization is the ideal encouraged by the governmental agency that has contact with Dulanto.

In August 1973, a core group of neighbors living in one of the blocks in Dulanto decided to develop an association that would provide an organizational base for reciprocal aid in house construction. By this date, all of the households on their block had been in Dulanto for almost six months. Few had progressed further than starting to dig the trenches for their house foundations. There was no kinship affiliation among the twenty-two families on the block; few were *paisanos*, and only three had previously lived in Corongo and knew one another slightly for that reason. One individual was particularly enthusiastic about the possibility of a block association, for he had seen other similar associations in the area. He spoke to various neighbors, and when they in turn conferred as a group with governmental representatives who offered technical advice and limited use of equipment, the association was formally established.

Much of the enthusiasm and optimism initially exhibited not only was the result of the prospect of rapid house construction, but also was based on a pervasive belief found in much of Peru that individuals from the Andean highlands have a great deal of skill, almost an innate ability, to cooperate in communal projects. As will be discussed, because of numerous features of this particular effort (notably the need to interact with individuals who were of only short acquaintance and who were neither kin nor *paisanos* and with whom trust had not built up through years of reciprocal interaction), the collaboration was not as smooth as expected.

The association initially had twenty-one member households and an elected president, secretary, and treasurer. It was determined that materials such as bricks, bags of cement, and iron reinforcing rods could be purchased by the association in wholesale quantities, providing savings

that would not have been possible with individual household purchases. Additionally, wheelbarrows, shovels, hammers, and other tools could be pooled for block use, thus avoiding the need for each household to purchase tools. Sand to mix with the cement and gravel to add to the foundation could be brought from the river, two blocks distant, through communal effort. The construction that was to be carried out according to the official blueprints, provided by the government, was to take place every Sunday and on holidays on a rotating basis among the houses, ideally creating a form of balanced reciprocity similar to that which characterizes many kin and *paisano* relationships. It was decided that each member of the association would also put two hundred *soles* per week into a fund with which building materials would be purchased as they were needed. Additionally, those who did not contribute their labor would be fined one hundred *soles* per work-day missed. As one member pointed out, the ideal system should save the members money through wholesale purchase of materials, and various advantages would accrue from group labor.

The first three and a half months of the association's existence were characterized by enthusiasm and optimism. Although most interaction among neighbors was still marked by the reserve which is often shown for non-kin, many neighbors began to interact with some frequency. During the fall of 1973, the association met twice a month in the evenings at mid-week to discuss their plans. A government representative attended two of these meetings to offer his approval and his services as a consultant, should the need arise. Work on Sundays consisted primarily of the communal gathering of sand and rocks from the river. Not all members were able to comply with the weekly two hundred *soles* quota, yet many did. Fifty sacks of cement were purchased and stored at the home of one of the members; three of the sacks were ruined when the roof leaked during an unusually wet period.

Late one night in December, the president of the association and the treasurer disappeared and never returned to Dulanto. They took with them the funds that the members had been saving since August. The two lots vacated by the families of the association president and treasurer were reassigned to new families. At this point, the association was left with no funds and with a feeling of mistrust among the members. All association functions ceased. One month later three past members began to discuss reorganizing the association. Sixteen of the old members joined, and by March 1974 meetings and work on Sundays were renewed.

At this stage, most of the lots had trenches for the foundations, and the Sunday work from March until July consisted primarily of filling the trenches with cement and placing the steel reinforcing rods. Some weeks

work went ahead rapidly and with enthusiasm. On other Sundays, few members showed up or there were accusations that certain members always took the easier jobs, or that some worked too slowly and rested too often. The only official excuse for avoiding the one hundred *soles* fine for not appearing to work on Sundays was illness. A complaint often heard was that an individual was counting his hangover as an illness. It is evident that motivating members to appear for work created some problems and the association did not have sanctioning power to the degree that might be held by an extended kin network.

The regulations within the association maintained that the household for which the Sunday work was carried out was to provide all who worked with a substantial mid-day meal. Many women commented that the expense of the meal was almost equivalent to the cost of hiring the same number of workers, considering the few hours that they often worked. There were also complaints about the unevenness in quality of the meals served, and an unresolved problem existed as to whether the household where the work was carried out should also provide beer. By July, when the lower foundations had been completed, there remained only eleven members. At this time, approximately one year after the initial founding of the association, work could begin on the upper foundations. By the end of September, one more family had dropped out, but upper foundations had been completed for the remaining ten members. The funds were then depleted by a wholesale purchase of bricks, and the remaining members called a halt to the weekly construction, deciding that the brick work could be carried out individually. The association's primary function had been completed in the pouring of the foundations. Although the association was not formally disbanded, it became inactive. A number of the members expressed a sense of relief. Cooperation had not been as effortless as they had expected. An overall assessment of the activities of the association was summed up by one member when he said,

In the end we have made some progress in our construction, yet it seems that we have had too many problems. And if we really managed to save money, I just don't know. I think that it might have worked out better if I had just worked with my relatives even though there are not too many here.

ANALYSIS

The preceding examples provide the basis for the analysis that follows. Both before and after the relocation in 1973, various optional methods have existed for house construction in Corongo and Dulanto. The options are always circumscribed by constraints such as insecurity of land title and scarcity of funds for materials and labor. The following discussion utilizes values, kin structure, and traditional methods of alliance formation as the basis for outlining motivations, goals, and decision-

making, while also taking into consideration the numerous constraints within which the migrants are operating.

1. *Values.* A number of fundamental values, shared by migrants living in Corongo and Dulanto, form an interlocking system and serve as a motivational force for subsequent decisions for action. Migrants view the concept of "progress" (which implies modernization, industrialization, urbanization, growth, and construction) positively. Conversely, rural areas and traditional modes of living and of economic production, although frequently referred to with nostalgia, are often referred to as *muy atrasado* (very backward). Most migrants see the act of migration from a rural to an urban setting as an indication of their individual potential to effect sweeping and generally positive changes in their own lives. Thus, the migrants consider their place in their society to be quite dynamic as well as positive; change is a daily potential to be seized when the opportunity arises and worked for with persistence. There is a pervasive belief that if one works diligently and takes advantage of opportunities in the correct way and at the correct time, then positive change will be the result, if not for oneself, then at least for one's children. This positive view of change, and also of each individual's ability to effect change, directly contradicts some of the basic theoretical assumptions dealing with urbanization, particularly as found in the concept of the "culture of poverty" (for example, Lewis, 1966). The values relating to the positive potential for change act to reinforce the motivation to implement change in the examples of house construction, both in Corongo and in Dulanto.

In both Corongo and Dulanto emphasis is placed on hard and persistent work and on saving money. Industriousness is considered a necessity for survival as well as a positive personality attribute. A woman commonly praises her husband because he works well. Likewise, a married woman is rarely complimented on her physical beauty, but her husband will often indicate with considerable pride that his wife is an excellent woman because she is an industrious and diligent worker. The long hours of daily work are partially due to the low wages of those living in the squatter settlements; they are also the result of the social approval given to work and to productivity itself and to those who exhibit the ability to be industrious. Working industriously is considered basic to the correct and moral participation by each individual as a member of society. Thus, in the examples given here concerning house construction in both Corongo and Dulanto, the desirability of hard work is shown in the active participation in construction by all family members. Particularly in the examples from Corongo, the existence of a short term goal, within a structure of kin-based reciprocity and values stressing the positive nature of hard work, made possible the activation of a labor force. In Dulanto,

in spite of the conflicts of interest and the deep mistrusts that developed, the belief that through one's own labor a house could be built was a factor that sustained the continued labor.

Residents of Corongo and Dulanto view saving money positively. The desire to save money is also tied to each migrant's ability to make long-range plans, such as plans for house construction in Dulanto. Many families had managed during their years in Corongo to save relatively large sums of money consistently in spite of their generally low wages and other income. These savings were often intended for house construction, once a lot could be secured. When families were relocated to Dulanto, savings provided sufficient funds to purchase bricks and concrete for beginning house construction.

In Corongo and Dulanto, being with others is felt to be vital to one's sense of well-being. The need for, or desirability of solitude is minimal. It is viewed as a natural characteristic of human nature to desire to interact daily with a large number of individuals. The social ideal is for each individual to participate fully in multiple relationships, fulfilling many obligations and receiving many reciprocal benefits. Power, prestige, and ultimately the basic pleasures of life, as well as one's survival, are considered in relation to interaction with others. There are a number of common expressions regarding the need to belong to a family unit, the need to be near those who love one, the need for a man and a woman to live with one another and to share the tasks of raising children, and the need for siblings to share each other's concerns. These are ideals, yet they provide motivation for behavior.

Since the population density within Corongo is almost six hundred individuals per acre, close interaction is not difficult to arrange. While irregular lot size and unavailability of urban amenities are a concern in Corongo, crowding *per se* is not viewed as particularly burdensome, nor as a focal point of concern. The typical comment was made by one of the residents of Corongo, "Here in the city, it is so fine because one is never alone. In the highlands it is very lonely and sad, but here I am so close to many more of my *paisanos*." Abu-Lughod (1967) cites a similar sentiment among urban migrants living in Cairo. In Dulanto, whose population is less dense than Corongo's, the same desire for social interaction is found and is a positive factor during the process of house construction.

In the examples presented here of house construction in Corongo and Dulanto, the importance of the values related to smooth social interaction becomes evident. In spite of the extremely dense population (particularly in Corongo), a pervasive belief in the underlying naturalness of and human necessity for much interpersonal interaction influences the social relationships within both districts so that relationships are ideally

maintained with a minimum of overt aggression. There is a general press toward reaching agreement and acting with unity. The importance of reciprocity in all relationships not only is a component of the mechanism of interacting smoothly with others, but also is directly related to the conviction that one should be industrious. One who is not a hard worker, and thus is not able to uphold his side of the reciprocal obligations, is excluded from the net of reciprocal ties, which is considered vital to survival and prestige.

2. *Kin structure.* The following discussion is a very brief outline of the kin structure, indicating only some of the more prominent features as they are related to the examples of house construction. Within the context of the urban squatter settlements of Lima, kin are omnipresent and play a vital role in the decision-making processes that form the basis for reaching goals such as home ownership.

Kinship is bilateral in nature, with some degree of patrilineal emphasis, and is similar in many respects to the basic pattern reported by Carter (1972), Custred (1972), Lambert (1972), Mayer (1972), and Webster (1972) in reference to the Andean highlands (which space limitations prevent my discussing here in any detail). The kin structure in the city is most clearly represented by a series of concentric circles representing categories of kin types that expand out from ego at the center. The core of the system located closest to ego is the sibling-based kindred and the nuclear family. Beyond the core relationships, ego is tied to a vast network of kindred, and beyond these to a network of *paisanos* and other non-kin. Marriage rules ideally proscribe marriage between kin within the third cousin range and between those who share either of the two family names that each individual holds. Additionally, the prohibition of marriage increases in direct relation to the distance between the sites of origin of the prospective marriage partners. The prohibition reaches its extreme stringency between individuals of highland origin and those of coastal origin, particularly if one potential marriage partner is of Indian ancestry and the other of black ancestry. Likewise, there is a strong prescriptive sentiment that marriages should occur between extended families in which there is an existing high level of confidence and trust, most preferably attained through previous intermarriage.

Within the squatter settlements, the larger number of kin upon whom each individual may rely provides a potentially large pool from which to seek aid during the process of adaptation to the urban milieu. Many migrants are able to enumerate two or three hundred kin, many of whom live nearby within the same residential cluster, or at least the same squatter settlement. In addition, the common pattern of residential clustering of kin and *paisanos* increases the accessibility of a large number of kin.

A knowledge of the structure of kin relationships provides additional

insights into the choices of aid made by the migrants in house construction. Strong sibling solidarity, which is often reinforced through the marriage pattern, provides a basic tie which generally will be counted on in times of need. In the example of the house construction in Corongo by Fernandina and Efrain, it was his four siblings (two of whom are married to cousins of Fernandina) and their spouses who contributed most of the building labor. Likewise, the other examples from Corongo indicate the manner in which obligations among siblings are carried out with an expectation of future reciprocity.

Also vital to an understanding of the mobilization of a labor force for house construction is the awareness that each individual has a place in a potentially expandable and flexible kindred from which to choose those who may offer aid in times of need. In contrast to the pattern in Corongo, the block association within Dulanto not only was faced with the problems of establishing interaction based on trust in the absence of kin ties among the association members, but also was dealing with a limited and defined group of participants in which no options for expanding membership were available. In the block association, the members had the joint goal of constructing their houses rapidly and with minimal expense through industrious labor. Because of the lack of trust and unity and the corporate characteristics of their association, however, there were problems of cooperation and goal attainment.

3. *Alliance formation.* Tying together much of the social interaction within Corongo and Dulanto is a strategy of alliance formation, which in turn is based on a pattern of reciprocity. Reciprocity, which is vital to the maintenance of harmonious kin relationships, is also the basis on which each individual extends and consolidates his individual network. Relationships based on formalized alliances such as those resulting from marriage or *compadrazgo* ties are a means, beyond those provided by kin, for the migrant living in a squatter settlement to obtain the necessities of life as well as some of the luxuries. Alliances are viewed as vitally important assets and each individual aspires to broaden his network to include individuals from a variety of social positions so that, should the occasion arise, the reciprocal obligations in one's favor may be activated.

Numerous writers have stressed the importance of voluntary associations during the adaptation process in Lima and elsewhere (see for example Mangin, 1955, or Doughty, 1970). Uzzell (1970:1), however, maintains that "successful adaptation is not a matter of importing traditional institutions (i.e., regional associations), but of gathering scattered potential sources of aid into a personal network that can be activated on critical occasions." My data from Corongo, Dulanto, and other squatter settlements point to a similar conclusion. Voluntary associations are

noticeable particularly when observed from the vantage point of the city looking toward the squatter settlements, yet from the viewpoint of each migrant, many other forms of relationships, such as those found in extensive kindreds and those formed through alliance, serve a more immediate and continuing function. Voluntary associations, as Mangin, Doughty, and others have demonstrated, are important in the lives of many migrants. If one looks at the composition of these voluntary associations, however, such as the soccer teams or the *paisano* clubs in Corongo and Dulanto, one finds that aside from the fact of association membership, the individual participants are generally linked through numerous overlapping kin and alliance networks. Thus strategies of interpersonal relationships are considered with respect to an extension and maintenance of each individual's network and not with respect to group membership. The kin structure, with the emphasis on the kindred, exemplifies this principle, which then obtains in many other forms of interpersonal relationships. The attitude of many migrants is that one joins a voluntary association in order to solve a problem or attain a common goal, and yet the unity of the group is an expression of kin solidarity or previously initiated networks of alliances and is not the result only of group membership. Thus while the members of the block association in Dulanto had shared goals of rapid and inexpensive house construction, the lack of a previously existing network of kin or alliance ties was a hindrance to the development of trust and the smooth attainment of the shared goal. In contrast, in Corongo, through the mutual aid network and with the expectation of reciprocity, the labor force necessary for house construction was mobilized and the task implemented.

Many other voluntary associations, such as the Junior Red Cross or the Mothers' Club, which do exist in Corongo and Dulanto, are externally stimulated and are often led or sponsored by an individual who is not a member of the community. Participation in these voluntary associations, as in the block associations in Dulanto, is spotty and inconsistent. To the outside observer, the frequent lack of success in the organization and maintenance of voluntary associations in the squatter settlements (in which the members are not linked through kin or alliance networks), may be one of the characteristics that have led some to label the social organization within the squatter settlements as "disorganized" or "breaking down." The proliferation of individual networks, however, continues to function within the squatter settlement milieu according to the migrants' own plan. From the viewpoint of the migrants, utilization of a personal network is the most expedient manner of insuring trust and reciprocity in relationships and in creating the flexibility necessary to face the dynamically shifting options that may occur during the process of adaptation.

SUMMARY

The foregoing discussion is intended to illuminate concerns related to the process of adaptation. Various implications for ethnological theory result from this paper, but the construction of these theories is not within the scope of this paper. This necessarily brief discussion of values, kin structure, and alliance formation indicates the basis for contrasting the processes of house construction in Corongo and Dulanto.

Values strongly influence the migrant's ability to make and implement long-term plans. In the previous examples of house construction, the migrants' conceptions of change and progress, the positive connotations given to hard work and saving money, and their expectations of interacting smoothly with others all positively affected house construction.

Kin are vital to the process of adaptation within the squatter settlements of Lima. For example, compared to the close cooperation among kin and *paisanos* in Corongo, mistrust and disunity characterized the Dulanto block association. The settlement pattern in Dulanto, which did not reflect the traditional clustering of kin and *paisanos*, did not provide an atmosphere of trust and support for easy mobilization of a labor force.

The form of social interaction based on a network of alliances in Corongo provided flexibility and a variety of options, in contrast to government-encouraged, relatively inflexible voluntary associations in Dulanto.

The decisions that Lima's migrants make regarding their plans for attainment of their goals are varied and complex. Yet these decisions are based on constraints and options, among which are those attendant on the value system, the kin structure, and the traditional method of alliance formation. Using these three dimensions in an analysis of two contrasting examples of the process of house construction, we gain insight into the process of urban adaptation as it occurs in Lima, Peru. The next step is to apply some of the implications of the analysis presented here to cross-cultural questions of urbanization.

NOTES

1. The term *paisano* as used in this context refers to individuals who have migrated from the same highland district.

2. The references to "Indian ancestry" and "black ancestry" are etic racial designations made nevertheless in full cognizance of the numerous emic designations such as *Indio*, *Cholo*, *Mestizo*, *Blanco*, *Sambo*, *Cetrino*, *Canela*, and so forth, which are based on a series of attributes that are both racial and cultural in nature.

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